/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports

527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered ● [782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

782

/For information on Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 187-297./

/19 cont./

M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be
Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them.
As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area
extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a,
and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north
to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai
M subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
[131] resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
[301] wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they
[527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three
days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
●[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called
"Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little
salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as
the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The
Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money
from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry
again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

(8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[882] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[527] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[584] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get
married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
cc 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[411] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They
[648] repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put
under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and
many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su
/the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[787] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad.
[825] In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with
the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai,
but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this
group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

*M /20 cont./
101 in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
cc 563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[517] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

[533] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[577] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[291] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[302] into a knot.

[167] /21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
[776] spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

[527] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[534] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
[167] Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.

563 (19) Tzu Chiang Miao. —— They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/21 cont./

M 782 CC 563 M [167] *[101]

(20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him, They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox, M [292] the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns, and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the M [574] guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

/22 cont./

M *101 CC 523 M [782 769]

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

M [782 769 574 248 262 175]

(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; The Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

M [167]

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/38 cont./

361

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778 Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Relatives,
177] Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
352 covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[231] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
[354 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
] in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
● 782 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
769 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen
354 stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:
000

/55 cont./
243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day
784 of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from
the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day
of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and
[688] pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope
to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit
of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often
the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced
fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones
and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once.
Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep
gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread
unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has
a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance
every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature
fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take
dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
[161] on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance
by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a
few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's
[291] clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms
from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on
the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39)
for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
285 the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are
used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps,
mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back.
Women going into the fields often place their babies in the
carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the
use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
286 method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[171] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
[438] though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
439 Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao
villages to exchange for their local products, but there were
many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/95 cont./

584 [177] Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine [554] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ȵaŋ˥˧ tɕ˨˩˨ m̂pʻa˥˧), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense [782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ˥˧ tʻiɤ˨˩˨), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's [583] family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers , one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat. [550] [583] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan -

/95 cont./
584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral
● [782] tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three
times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place.
If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-
in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests
from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called
"meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered
[224] the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance,
say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C
being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given
by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given
by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On
the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family
F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on
the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a
rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a
pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of
material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes
each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-
between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
584 lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained
are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an aus-
picious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./
583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it
consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one
outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and
neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to
the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to
have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and
candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs
or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they
close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in
the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of
cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and
complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[756] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the
782 ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow-
[787] tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers
of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the
bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet.
After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her
brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal
grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[554] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-
class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers,
sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers
wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way.
If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to
wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[756] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:
[539]

> "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
> Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

585 The bride arriving here brings
782 Great luck and great prosperity.
539 The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
•782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the
male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, . . .
female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with *t'ung* grass, *pa-lun* grass, and *huang-mao*
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
[589] definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[836] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the
[765] elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry
the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter
844 placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat
ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
769 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
764 of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
[113] planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest
on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach
to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich
[554] sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes
left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered
beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each
other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[752] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut
[768] into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the
burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
764 a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath."
The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of
white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A
bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several
yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled
in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked
to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his
clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then
his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60
threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes
have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches
in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu
ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of
straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./
756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his
right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the
basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering
the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the
dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a
thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo
into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations.
After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped,
his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the
incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes
his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come
chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are
written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the
important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places.
When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork,
a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and
firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a
tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/
feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and
duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast,"
together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles.
764 Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
[177] as the Chinese.

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered
in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony,
the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved
family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
756 to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
[782] are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
[177] ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
756 nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
[569] The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees "heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below, start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family members may begin to cry and weep.

/194 cont./
771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[781] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion,
because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work
of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly
control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether
it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician.
Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether
[776] there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and
beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various
kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing
sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has
largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself
having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with
it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao
in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from
magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of
pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique,
and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan
has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today,
except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be
found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people
sick.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is
[181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are
preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example,
[526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially
the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording
the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu
[534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and
seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty
women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good
men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in
[292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the
heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back.
Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing,
responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping
their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the
music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a
[782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial
ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments
[656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao,
and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held.
Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened
[186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because
they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some
decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly
demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct.
Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

[184] The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey
drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of
Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

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796 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and
292 taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting
123 boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first
574 nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice
527 and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 San Yüeh San.[8] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village
796 built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the for-
527 tune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

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[8] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

were burned, gunpowder charges were set 796
off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the 782
front of the shrine.

The second time a rooster was killed on a 527
stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village.

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival 796
at which ancestral graves are repaired and 527
decorated with a bamboo pole which has
leaves and white paper streamers at the top. 769
It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter.

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

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[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5-17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

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equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

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The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone—first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's 796
horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the
stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then 782
turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on
the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it
behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After
preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal
uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then
other relatives on the wife's side will do). The
maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about
five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the
bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick,
twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he
strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several
times. The bull then loses consciousness and the by-
standers stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it
bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and di-
vide it among friends and relatives. The maternal
uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's
is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull.
As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring
a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars,
not all the same, so each family is to have a share of
two or three *chin*.

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they 796
make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the
afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast 782
in the great hall. Boards and benches are put to- 252
gether to make a long table and the guests arrange
themselves for a long feast. On the table they set
all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of
unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If
other families conduct the ritual at the same time,
the guests who have come to the killing of the bull,
after eating for a time at one place go on to other
places. On that day only men are guests; women do
not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although
all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals,
women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell [562]
Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the
bull, which is a very good example.

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so 796
poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families
who have much wealth so that they can do it always 782
consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing
something for which they will receive a monetary 527
reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form
of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull
men and women, old and young, put on their best
clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the
women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are
splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are
many people and it is a lively occasion, better than
a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and
depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for
the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart.
It must thus be also of no little aid to good health.

[796]

796 After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be
preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always
782 have ten or more pair put away. After an old per-
son in the family dies all the families who have
527 them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set
it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

796 luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they
● 782 must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a
527 flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

[806]

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, 771
sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are
objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery [341]
Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols.

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility 774
of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege.

No religious ceremony is of more importance 796
than the worship of the door. So highly is the 782
ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present.

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close [356]
of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the

796 water in which the pig and entrails have been
782 washed, are buried in this hole. Everything unclean is deposited here, nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces and heart, liver, stomach, everything placed into a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet or buckwheat is steamed, to be eaten with the boiled pig; meanwhile a strict silence is observed. When millet and pig are ready for eating, the family squat on the floor, and partake of a sacramental feast. The meat is taken with the fingers from a large wooden basin, and the millet with wooden ladles from a basket; and this is for them a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household and the immolator's wife share the meal, but not the daughters, since they some day will marry into another clan. All bones and gristle are burnt. At the end of the meal each participant stands over the fire, where with both hands he wipes his mouth, throwing the breath, as it were, into the flames, and then holding the hands over the fire, he rubs them together. In this manner, hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. With the exception of the father and the eldest son, the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until an hour or two before sunrise, when, standing near the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a formula handed down from generation to generation: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness, keep away disease, keep away slander, keep away all that is injurious." With the dawn

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763
'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764
offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all 782

764 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were 782 never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 796 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

764 person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntsə's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,[14] chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

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782 After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

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[14] The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntsə.

sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntsə's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntsə's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the back of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throat of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipper from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts.

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The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death.

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764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

● [782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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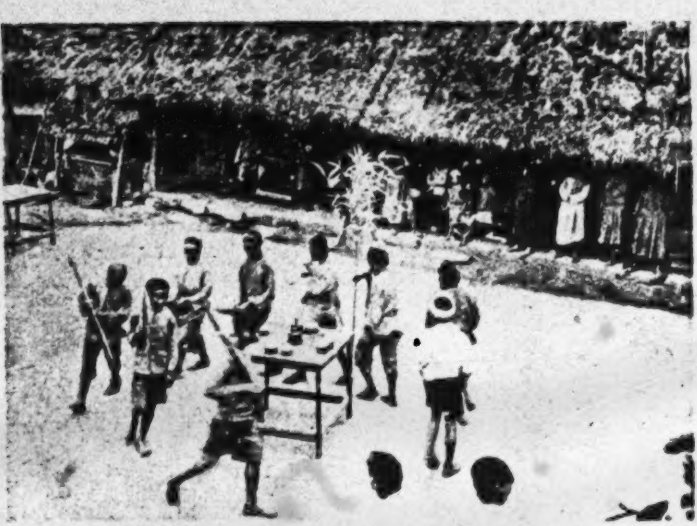

Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

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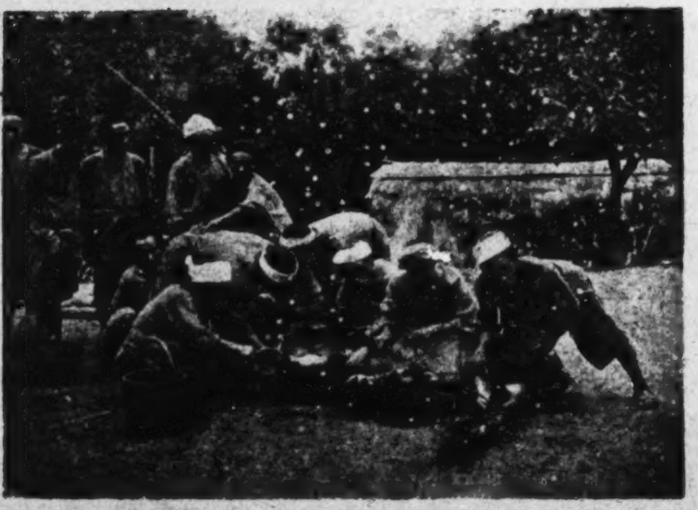

Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p.62]

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the
778 twelfth lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be
a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree
which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese
local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief
that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals
will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the
[755] killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness,
but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other
things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bottom of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must step over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon.
A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The
hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked.
264 Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided
262 and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and
eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally
made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as
deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly
782 three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers.
He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are
the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who
try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state.
Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means
original demon.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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Glaŋ ta lo·, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo glaŋ. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried 776 away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them 782 where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is 791 called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron plough- 791 share, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on 789 twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung.* A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬腳 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

796 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings
to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they
will come forward again and make offerings to the female
769 and male descendants for three generations before you can
have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The
girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared
585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and
the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared
782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float
about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xʌu lo· xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xʌu lo· xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called 769
by name in succession according to age and invited to eat
and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the 589
descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again 765
as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsə's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He
776 takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo
782 flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says, "ʒ̇̄ε nts'ai ʒ̇̄ε ɬʌu, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntsə's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak;

"ʒ̇̄ε nts'ai ʒ̇̄ε ɬʌu, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming", Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "ʒ̇̄ε nts'ai ʒ̇̄ε ɬʌu you are in Ntsə's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be

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burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then evedybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come?" (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lʌu, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntgʌu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

776
782

He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʐ̄ɛ nts'ai ʐ̄ɛ lʌu, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

585

To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開場 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no· ʐ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xʌu lo· xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo· Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʐ̄ɛ gi· (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

[11 cont.]
764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies
his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope
on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house,
they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen
[292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and
cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing
funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers
to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts.
764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [*kuei-*
787 *shih*] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick
slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of
the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing
him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his
journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and
obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross
roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the
spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is
764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on
● 782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang"
[commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"),
a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the Hê Miao,
a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a
sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd
wails and cries to the tune of the *liu-sheng*. The bull is first led
around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the
priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the
presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to
be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make
sacrifices all have with them a *sheng* of rice, a pot of wine and
a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to
the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a
formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and
after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the
guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each
other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse
in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid [177] in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 777 [801] The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 [771] 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among the Miao-I in Kweichow. Afte[illegible]ing in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[12 cont.] After the Sacrifice they

796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as
the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.)
Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
●[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The
names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to
ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of
superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty,
foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to
Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching
the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind
and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted.
These preachers bought property where their congregation was the
largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people
in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest
headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua
Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao
language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn
as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world.
The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
● 782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant.
When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and
trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

756 8) To protect children. Many families whose children
751 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their

[29 cont.]

751 "guardian" for the purpose of getting protection. This is be- 756 cause the body of the priest is supposed to be endowed with a spiritual quality that can put the ghosts in their places. Therefore, children receiving his guardianship can avoid illness. Often a priest may have several hundred people under his protection. To apply for it the protégé has to present a pair of shoes, a handkerchief, a cock and some glutinous rice to the [553] guiding spirit of the priest, after which offering the protégé is given a new name.

Priesthood among the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not a profes- 756 sion, the shaman being a full-time farmer, carpenter or blacksmith. It is only a side-line. Each time the priest performs some service, his remuneration consists of a few insignificant "lucky" items. It is said that priesthood is not a willing choice. Every priest has at least twenty to thirty different spirits seeking his mediumship, and if he refuses the spirits would derange his mind. So once seized by the spirits a man cannot help being a priest. He then cuts a piece of red paper into a row of human forms [30] and pastes them before his ancestral altar. A board is nailed horizontally against the wall, on which two or three tea cups are placed. After each magic performance, the head of [782] the cow, pig, or dog used in the ritual must be brought home to be sacrificed before the altar. But chickens and ducks used for the same purpose need not be brought home.

The capability of the shamans varies. Some can only catch small or wild ghosts but are unable to subdue big and fierce ghosts, who only surrender to priests with greater supernatural powers. Therefore, priests are divided into several classes. While performing magic, the priest may be assisted by a t'ung-shih [instructor] who is a less spiritually gifted person. The latter can only assist the priest but cannot engage the ghosts alone, and so his remuneration is still less. He may be fed for the services rendered without extra rewards.

[152 cont.]

538 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo" songs, borrowed from the work of P. Marabail (op. cit., pp. 296 and 298):

539 1. Love song:

782 The Young Man. – One is born only once. As the bee and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. – No, we are like the reed and the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the
539 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then
782 more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these desires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate autumn.

The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an-
291 other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various "Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped in a haphazard fashion.

Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese,
[177] the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, [448] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/33 cont./

A 597 A [435] Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M 608 M [273] Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded. M [776] ● [782]

M [428] [837] The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

39t Bernatzik--71 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AES

/43 cont./

634 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly,
695 as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

[342] The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished, not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of [516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the [276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

[292] The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri- [782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/52 cont./
851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece
of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance
[776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor
of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to
the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor
[775] into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and
Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These
[231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked
whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is
allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while
the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in
which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of
the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it,
and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears
and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter,
[787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and
Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the
omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke
[782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the
incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts,
that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs
pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front
of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior,
and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour,
[521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents
and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed.
[854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the
first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/
sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap.
Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks
after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short,
goes about his business. A second child, about three years old,
[853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get
his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself
can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the
mother.

Miao AE5

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents,
585 according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which
[301] were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bride-
[152] groom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of
● [782] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors,
[769] informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into
[554] the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people
[273] more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until
[513] the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the
[595] house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thǫ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yǫ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings 585 533 the wedding song:

> 'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
>
> 'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/102 cont./

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in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

● [782]
[769]

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/103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,

1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

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[584]
Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

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the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

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Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

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Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

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In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Foodstuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

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Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

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1. Page 461.

Miao AE5

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 782 [556] [533] [775] After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days addi- [775] tional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[764] [554] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 766 177 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages, appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
● [782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.

764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

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775 "One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests; a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse, is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/129 cont./

M 531 [291] but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,' and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue background, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the M [778] [782] [413] ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts, however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of M [532] [114] Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood sculpture.

A 532 [531] The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on clothing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little drawing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of wood carving, though not universally. The wooden sculptures at the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to A [831] nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). A 531 [276] The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14) (also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section "Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

[1] [See cat 116, p120- ANALYST]

[2] [" " ", p 297 AND p 333- ANALYST]

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

A /152 cont./
123 rang out in the distance. As we discovered later, it was fire-
535 works which the Akha had acquired from the Chinese. Mean-
[541] while the sound of mouth organs was heard drifting toward us;
[177] the noise grew louder and seemed to come closer, and we were
quickly on our feet.

Shortly thereafter the first group of the festive throng
arrived. It was several dozen young men, accompanied by a
number of boys. In their gala costumes, richly hung with
silver (Ill. 12),ᵃ they posted themselves beside our tent and
began to dance, while some of them started a huge fire. The
flickering, crackling fire cast eerie shadows, which the blazing
flames dispelled, on the figures stamping and leaping to the
sound of their mouth organs. Over us arched the firmament
with the twinkling tropical starry sky. It was one of the most
beautiful and rewarding moments we were privileged to experi-
ence on this expedition. After a few hours the fire gradually
A died down, and the tired dancers returned to their village.

527 These dances of the Akha, however, are usually danced
[535] following a celebration, occasions that are presented in abundance
because of the special liking of the Akha for celebrations. When
the full moon shines at harvest time the sound of the mouth
organs and the singing of the beautifully adorned girls with their
M reddened lips and cheeks resound the whole night through. The
[527] turn of the year is celebrated among both the Meau and Akha
with festivals that last for days, but other occasions also are
often presented for breaking the monotony of /153/ /Ill. 26-29
appear here on unnumbered pages/ work with a festival in honor
of the spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section
on "Deities and Spirits") or of a distinguished guest. We, too,
A had the opportunity to participate as guests in several celebrations
[123] of the Akha along the Doy Tung in northern Thailand. In the
following I shall give the description of one of these celebrations
from the entries in my wife's journal:

A "At day a pig is slaughtered. Many men hold the loudly
M squealing animal, while one of them cuts its throat. Whereas
[23] the Meau always see to it that the spirits receive their share,
[782] the Akha do not concern themselves about this in the least.
A They drive a strong pole into the dead animal at the anus and
[252] out through the snout. Without any sacrificial ceremony and

a [see cat 116, P 37- ANALYST]

[TEXT continues on P214]

/156 cont./
know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114]
same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no
religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities
just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do
not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled
with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned
through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I,
too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast
to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of
heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly,
the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without
influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau
seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The
Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine
powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to
God."

177 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course
[782] of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated.
Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[775] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan,
the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the
dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

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3. Page 168.

4. II, p. 253.

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, *klan̊ yun*, transformed into an evil one, which is then called *nyŏhn̊*. In such [782] [756] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] [782] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be [177] dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. [726] Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

Miao AE5

/165 cont./

326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dă lŭ pā́n, which literally
776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lŭ lŭ
pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and
to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated.
Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the
Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills.
These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe
that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work
at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three
spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dă lŭ pā́n and
his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that
it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the
smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work
is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that
there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many
Meau smiths and dă lŭ pā́n with his two assistant spirits lives in
the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yŭ wăn
776 sŭ fū́. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his
house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense
candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsū. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tă fŭ yḗ, lŭ fŭ yḗ, and săn fŭ yḗ.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do
not know how many of them, who are called sĕn šĕn, there are.
In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she
had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which
she regularly offered sacrifices to the sĕn šĕn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy
it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among
itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper
fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable
to explain to me.

/167 cont./
776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought
[773] them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho
lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they
owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the
spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit
helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more
or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank,
even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends
of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his
playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The
adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which
guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become
a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so
[775] much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of
the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits.
In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed
manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter
and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown
animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the
guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown
watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young
dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it
struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
● [782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation
of a guardian spirit.

[1] [See cat. 116, p666 - ANALYST]

/176 cont./
756 and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office
[787] of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to
son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person
who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has
several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful.
[554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the in-
vidual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and
to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has
failed.

[562] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on
the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones.
[554] Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in
their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an un-
numbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the
tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distin-
guished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The
[302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they
do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either
close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the
instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing
[292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the
back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being
performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver
coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends
of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the
teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of
756 his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He
787 sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-
[782] spirit of all the shamans, kǫ̆ nǫ̆ kǫ̆ tsŭ, and the three pairs of
[776] assistant spirits, tă fŭ yĕ́, lŭ fŭ yĕ́, and săn fŭ yĕ́. The teacher-
[801] spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and
one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau.
Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until
the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks
them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions,
just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he him-
self is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

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/178 cont./
756 wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes
755 place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords
789 should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords
[778] of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to
leave the human being immediately.

756 The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant
787 spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of
assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all
enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each
for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the
● [782] altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea
as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits
down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench
[534] placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds
in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves
his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words, for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [SEE CAT 116, P 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

756 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain [789] himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97).[1] [755] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for [614] cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the [465] sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

[1] [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/180 cont./

125 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to
make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his.
I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the
smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist
their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in
detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a
small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the
782 house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman
and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front
of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would
have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense
[354] candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light,
just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted
maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water
stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a
spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
787 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which
all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the
chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the
other members of the household, who have gradually assembled,
stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles
for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets
out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He
then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two
bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstruating
[822] women, the black that those who have given birth and
[841] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see
the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves
be conjured.

/182 cont./

755 787 [782] All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lü has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 782 [231] The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy eating it and help my son get well!" 755 He then takes the spirit-sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

Miao AES

/184 cont./

755 if you were floating above the clouds pursued by evil spirits. Never leave his body again!"

The patient then sits down in his place. Meanwhile the shaman has imperturbably continued his conjurations. After a quarter of an hour the chief repeats the ceremony with the
[782] spirit-paper; then he lights four new incense candles and puts them next to the almost consumed original candles in the vessel on the altar, where the fat-lamp continues to burn. After each action the chief and his eldest son immediately return to their places behind the shaman, who always remains facing the altar. The patient returns to the bench next to the hearth fire. In this way the first hour passes.

At the beginning of the ceremony the occupants of the house conversed with one another freely; now some of them leave the house, the rest remain silent and intently watch the proceedings. Suddenly in the midst of things a Meau woman who does not belong to the community comes and appeals simultaneously to the shaman and the chief: "I am suffering. I have had stomach pains for days. I beg you to help me." Jerkily, the shaman interrupts his conjurations and suddenly answers in a natural voice. He promises to assist the woman the next day and she is to prepare a dog sacrifice. The woman thanks him and leaves the house, and the shaman again begins his rhythmical motions, conjurations, and commands. Suddenly he stops and in his ordinary voice says that evil spirits are approaching. Tsin Tsai and his eldest son quickly step over to the shaman's bench together and hold it firmly, while the chief wife of the chief picks up the gong and beats it uninterruptedly as her husband had done formerly. Jerkily, and for us quite unexpectedly, the shaman jumps on the bench once with both feet simultaneously and then once again, for an /Ill. 30-34 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /185/ evil spirit has crept in among the good ones.
[801] Since uneven numbers are regarded as unfavorable and pernicious among the Meau, they are preferred for driving away evil spirits. Accordingly, the chief now takes three handfuls of the prepared maize and rice kernels and scatters them in all directions. His chief wife takes water into her mouth and spits it out in all the

[Text continues on p.253]

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura- [787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, ~~[illegible]~~ magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear 756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the 764 txi ceng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the [782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

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123 224 787 As far as I was concerned, the situation was difficult if not actually perilous if I wanted to remain on good terms with the Meau. I could not contradict the spirits and had to follow their orders, which were transmitted to me through the mouth of the chief. Hence it was of utmost importance for me to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent customs of the Meau. One day Tsin Tsai asked me to accompany him on a gaur hunt. A Meau had wounded a splendid old gaur, but was afraid, and very justifiably so, as I soon discovered, to track down this solitary beast in the difficult terrain. Therefore, /195/ he stopped the pursuit, returned to the village, and reported the facts to the chief. A few hours later, we, the chief, my interpreter, and I, were standing at the spot of the shooting. We had no difficulty in finding the path of flight of the heavy animal. We followed it until it led into an impenetrable thicket, which, as dense secondary growth, covered a rice field abandoned some six years earlier.

With our chopping knives we laboriously started cutting our way through the thicket and could not see two meters ahead. Added to that, the wind changed direction every few minutes. Under these circumstances tracking down an old, as well as wounded, solitary animal was tantamount to suicide. To judge by the trail which led up a steep hillside, it was highly improbable that the animal had died, but, on the other hand, reasonably certain that sooner or later we would be attacked by the wounded buffalo, without being able to parry such an attack by the wounded animal even halfway successfully at this short distance without having the shot pass out of the animal's body.

From the viewpoint of the hunter, Tsin Tsai had evidently committed an error, which surprised me. I drew his attention to the dangers that surrounded us. Tsin Tsai calmly confirmed my observations, but nevertheless held the opinion that, in spite of everything, no danger could threaten us, and, indeed, we were certain to be successful, for he had consulted the spirits by means [782] of the oracle and had even sacrificed a pig to them before we set out, and all the omens had been favorable! Naturally, I could not call the spirits liars, much less question their power. On the

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/195 cont./

123 224 987 other hand, I had no desire to pursue such a hopeless affair for which I was not responsible. Only strategy could help. Amiably I turned to Tsin Tsai: "Your spirits were right. I, too, however, questioned my hunting spirit. He told me that he would have to go up into the clouds and therefore could not assist me. He advises me therefore to stop the pursuit." The chief understood this immediately. The hunt was immediately called off, and without protest we were able to start back, for Tsin Tsai had no intention of exposing me to danger.

/196/ Another time -- but by no means always -- I was successful in using my influence to overcome bothersome hindrances which the oracle made for us. One day, I could not do any ethnographic fieldwork because my informants were not available. I therefore wanted to go hunting with a Meau, who for his part was very much in favor of my proposal. Beforehand, however, he wanted to consult the oracle as to whether the undertaking planned should be done at this time. Naturally, I feared difficulties again, but I quickly found a way out. I reminded the Meau that he had just laid out the oracle a few days before and that the spirits had told him that we would kill the gaur which I now wished to hunt. The spirits would certainly be annoyed by his asking again. Fortunately that satisfied my Meau; he gave up the oracle and set out with me. /

I myself, however, tried to obtain answers through the oracle of the Meau, in order to familiarize myself in every way with their ideas. In one case I wanted to know whether I would have a chance to shoot a certain old bull elephant whose haunt was known to me and to the chief. The chief lighted a fire, burned three pieces of the spirit-money which he carried with him, whittled three small bamboo sticks, and held them between the thumb and index finger of his right hand. Then he drew them through the fire several times, held them up toward the sky, and, while these preparations were going on, began conjuring the great Father-Mother spirit. He informed him that [782] he had sacrificed spirit-money and asked for answers to the following questions: Whether the bull elephant was occupying its usual haunt at the present time, whether I would be able to shoot it,

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/201 cont./

A "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air
787 and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot.
825 When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig."
A The same author (4) also made the following observation:

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4. Page 114.

824
789 "When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit,
782 the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good
776 spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections.
On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits.
M Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case
[755] of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for
instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influ-
776 ence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these
789 there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided
[778] with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the
entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits
M (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] If in spite of all these precautionary measures
[782] evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in
[756] addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the
shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

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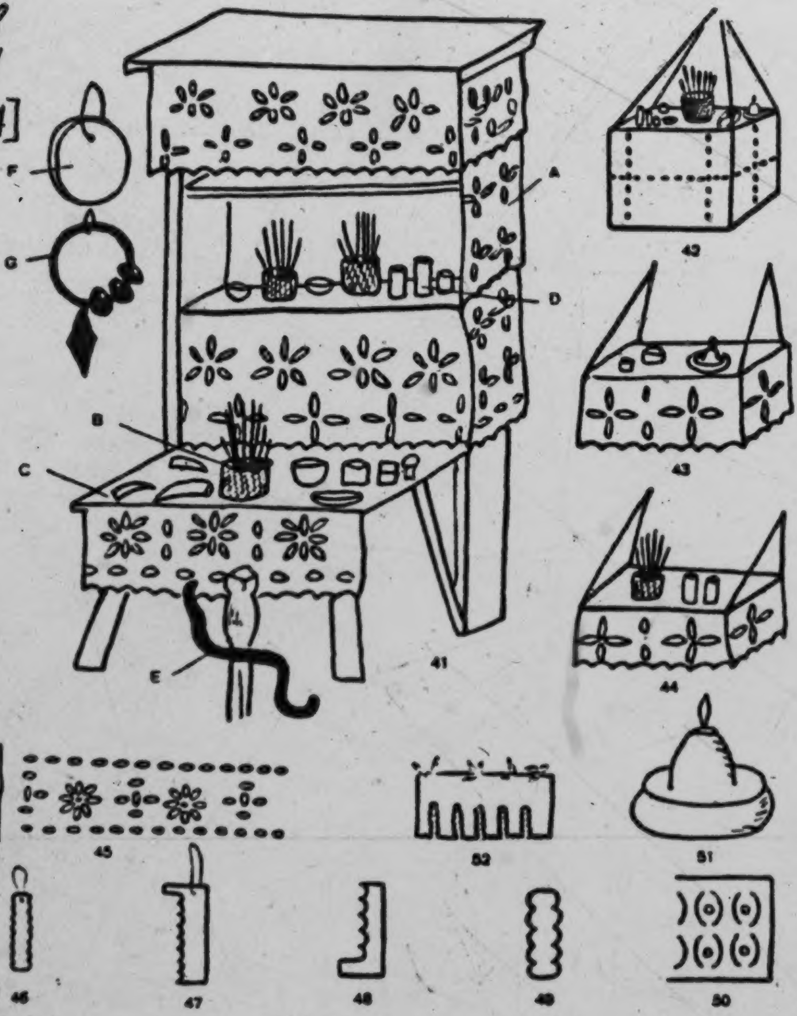

Figs. 41-52. Altars of the Meau.

[787]

Fig. 41. Large altar for the worship of the ancestors and the teacher-spirit of the shaman. 1/24 nat. size: A = punched-out paper curtain as decoration for the wooden frame; B = small basket with incense candles; C = oracle horns; D = small tea

(continued)

//Caption for Figs. 41-52 cont./

778 bowls and vessels for maize kernels, oil, or water; E = old
[411] battle sword of the Meau, stuck into the ground in order to forbid
[534] access to the evil spirits; F = gong; G = magic rattle of iron.
Fig. 42. Altar in the house of the chief, with incense candles,
lamp, oracle horns, and the like, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 43.
Altar for the assistant spirits of the shaman. The alter consists of
a board with cultic apparatus and provided with a paper curtain,
1/17 nat. size. Fig. 44. Altar for the teacher-spirit of the
medicine men, 1/17 nat. size. Fig. 45. Punch pattern for the
[531] altar paper. Figs. 46-50. Spirit-money of various denominations,
[354] about 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 51. Altar lamp, 1/6 nat. size.
Fig. 52. Blood-soaked chicken feathers on the paper curtain
[782] of an altar as a sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors.

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/203 cont./

●782 [516] One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer. which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position [788] [756] [787] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro- [516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 776 782 [778] As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 776 [782] Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 782 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too [796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 [114] These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times, [782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 782 243 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens, which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 796 [769] The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance. On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

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/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal [596] [769] the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered
at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order
to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken
up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and
often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the
dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about
tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not

[184] 1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a
Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been
to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's
festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over,
he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

[273] "The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house
and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys
on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever
fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a
turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his
belongings."

[1] [See cat 116, p512 - ANALYST]

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/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[782 voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
769 munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
526 and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer
241] has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and
in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt,
housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1) has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce
[776] to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the under-
taking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however.
In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

1. Page 244.

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

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/207 cont./
782 231 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau [778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value [439] of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is [435] folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 782 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

[1] [see cat 116, p 704- ANALYST]

/208 cont. /

769 As has already been described in detail in the pertinent
782 sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices
are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a
[852] child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and
[764] at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the
death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the
oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If
[437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of
spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but
782 also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I
was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law
[461] of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to
return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces
[787] of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the
spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

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/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In contrast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting." [769]

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776] [241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

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1. Page 167.

2. II, p. 313.

3. Page 168.

4. Page 169.

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
●782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[241] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

[527] Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

782
796 1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and
[769] collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that
Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and
incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are
made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/210 cont./

778 782 [413] which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering, however, only after it has been punched with the special punches in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark-powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate a pleasant odor like incense.

778 411 787 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself. In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here./

778 534 [177] Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chapter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments"). They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which can be of various sizes, skin drums in the shape of hourglasses, [177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig. 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788 dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
783 been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and
562] is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The
Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not
[177] perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of
dances.

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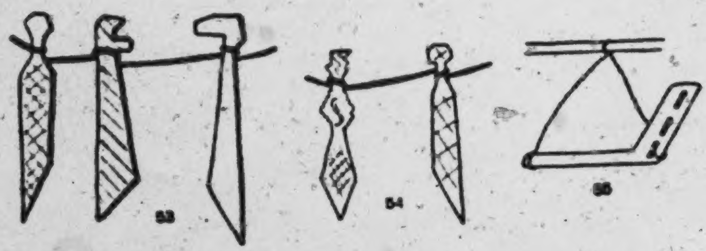

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/48 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881 initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.
The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits,
they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but
not images.

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
[626] punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

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1. II. p. 303.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5 ●

/215 cont./

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to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

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[769]

Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

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[778]

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[769]

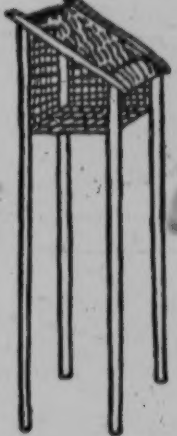

Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

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[688]

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

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● 782
[231]

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M
[764]
[114]

/216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

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1. Page 109.

1. II. p. 200.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/216 cont./

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Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

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[782]
Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacrifice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw, as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, probably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

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[782]
Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting, such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom.

A
[727]
[174]
Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later, likewise points in this direction.

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2. Page 275.

3. *Album Gotha*, No. 38.

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

39: Bernatzik--381 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/276 cont./

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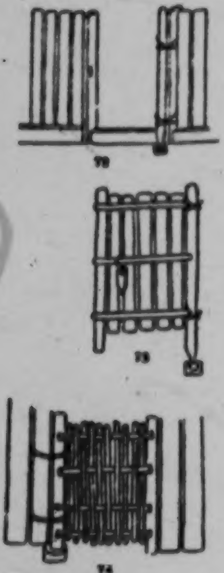

Figs. 72-74.
The doors of the Meau.
About 1/7 nat. size.
Fig. 72. Entrance door of wood.
Fig. 73. Door-leaf of Fig. 72.
Fig. 74. Entrance door of bamboo.

342 787 [782] The construction of a dwelling proceeds in the following manner: After the site of the future dwelling has been carefully chosen, spirit-money is sacrificed and the ancestors and the high Father-Mother spirit are asked whether the place is auspicious. Then one listens attentively all around and looks for possible [illegible] omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). One now erects a leaf-roof and sleeps under it. If now there are still no unfavorable omens observable and no dreams of unfavorable portent occur, then the men and women together begin to clear the site of all brush and level it off.

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

[462] This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

342 •782 [778] When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace, the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

1. II, p. 184.

[461] "The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

/346 cont./
224 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before
484 the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a
large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little
[824] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the
[415] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was
● [782] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he
[264] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of
[574] the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other
[262] foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like
European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[276] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with
all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the
rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint;
in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he
brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small,
[263] brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits
of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and
put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

/354 cont./

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Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the cultivation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

2. II. p. 309.

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[596]
[782]
When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around [314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

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During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

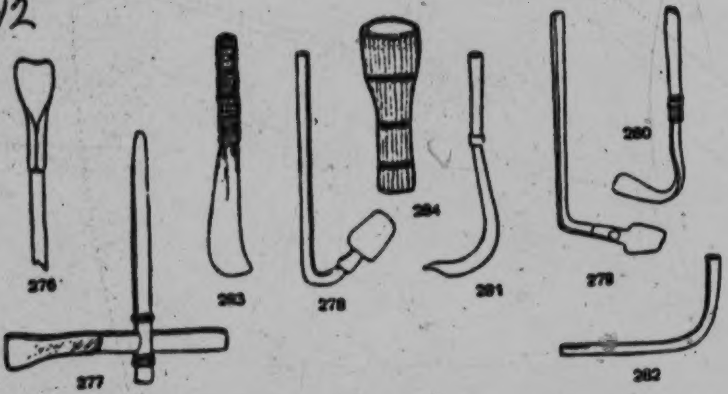
[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/365 cont./

e) Animal Husbandry

M 231 [262] [782] The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them. M [417] A 412



Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

A [243] Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat. size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Sàvina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep,
chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of *vilgum pecus*, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the
stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

39: Bernatzik--665 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

Miao AE5

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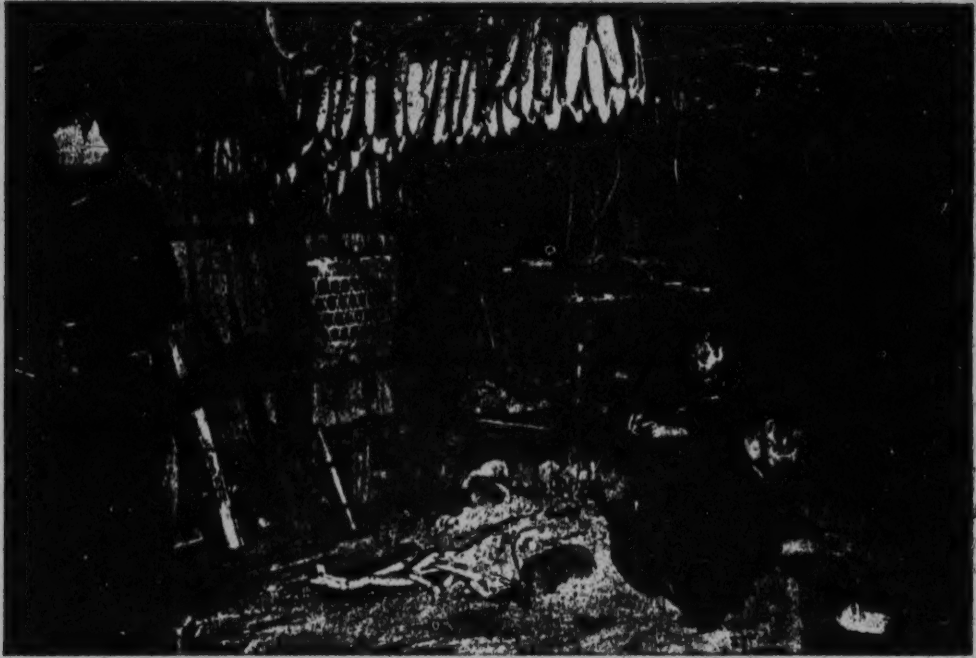
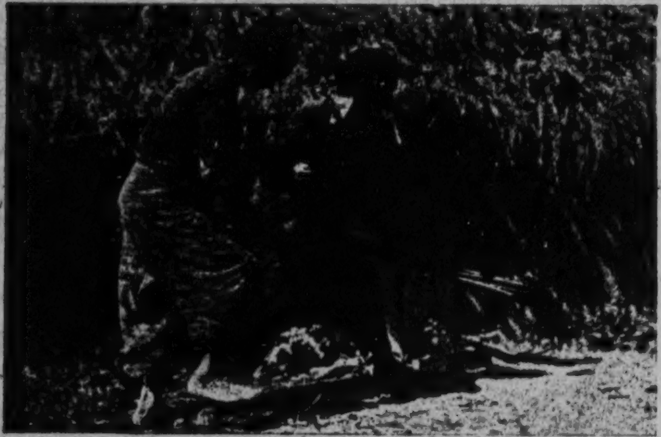


Ill. 100. At the command of the invoked spirits, spirit money is burned in a pit in the floor of the house.

39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 522/



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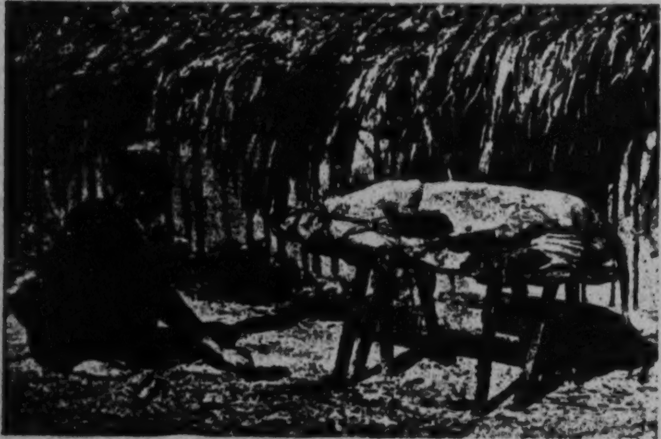
Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.



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Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

39: Bernatzik--728 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/IX cont./

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the two millstone halves with each other is lengthened or shortened, it is possible to hull the rice or maize kernels or to grind them into coarser or finer flour.

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[412]
Ill. 95. Rice-harvesting knife of the Meau. It consists of a semicircular wooden handle with an inserted metal blade. A string over the back of the hand provides the necessary firmness. The photograph clearly shows how the implement is held. The ears are cut individually, row after row. Because of the manual dexterity of the Meau, the harvesting nevertheless proceeds rapidly.

Ill. 96. Part of the rice is hulled in the field. A hole carved in a felled giant of the primeval forest forms the container. The pestle is fastened to a crosspole and is set in motion when one steps on the shorter lever. The axis of the lever arm is fastened between the upright wooden posts.

Ills. 97-103. Religion and magic.

778 Ill. 97. Sacral sign that the shaman sets up in front of the doors of the houses as a sign of a holiday.

787 Ill. 98. Stick oracle. A number of questions are addressed to the spirits. Each bamboo stick signifies a question. All the sticks are bent in a special manner. The answer of the spirits is signified by the position of the upper edge of the bend.

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[756]
Ill. 99. Calling back a lost soul. The shaman (left) has thrown oracle horns (the tips of gaur horns) on the ground. Only if these come to rest in a certain way does it mean that the spirits are willing to appear. The magic rattle is on the bench in the foreground. In the background squats the father of the patient, beside whom, on the beam, is the patient, whose soul "has fled beyond the clouds."

● [782]
Ill. 100. Continuation of the ceremony from Ill. 99. The invoked spirits have given the order to dig a pit in the floor of the house and then to burn spirit-money. The lost soul of the patient is urged to enter the pit. It is then closed with a stone and the soul, it is believed, is caught.

/IX cont./

231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

/X/

342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.